You are ill, Miss Susan," said she, taking her hand, and looking with earnest affection at her fallen features. "No, Anna," replied Miss Somerville, rising

upon her elbow. Anna looked at her keenly, in credulously, then in her turn growing very pale

she inquired, hurriedly, earnestly—

"Have you heard from the Crags? Has any
thing happened there, Miss Susan?"

"No, Anna, nothing And now, Anna, do not
question me further. Don't look distressed, Anna, I am not displeased with you, my dear Anna-and I-but I am very, very, very tired of everything, and almost of everybody." san Somerville slowly arose, gathered up her long hair in her hands, let it fall again heavily with a deep sigh, and finally resigned herself into Anna's hands, to have her toilet rearranged for breakfast. Immediately after breakfast, Susan Somerville intimated to her grandfather her desire to return home; and, on receiving his consent to the proposal, announced to her hostess

their intention of returning to the Crags. Through the delay of Major Somerville, their departure was deferred till after dinner, so that it was nightfall before they found themselves ascending the rocky acclivity leading to the Crags. and it was pitch dark when they alighted at the Susan went at once to her room, to change her dress; and Anna, after betping he aged master to disencumber himself of his great coat and leggings, and after handing him his dressing-gown and slippers, and settling him in his dozing chair, went out into the kitchen, and taking her mother aside, said—
"Mother, Miss Susan is very unhappy about

something. Some sudden grief has fallen upor her. Mother, what is it, and what can we do to relieve her? Miss Susan is wretched! Indeed

Anna, perhaps she has discovered the ruin that threatens us every hour!" No indeed she has not; far wide of it. She knows her father is in debt, at the mercy of his creditors; but she does not know how near, how

imminent, how inevitable, our ruin is. No, thank God! she does not yet know; for even when I forget to guard myself, when I manifest anxiety or grief, the dear girl ascribes it to my condition thinks I am self-seeking and ambitious. She does not know me. it is you, mother, who must tell me how to comfort her; for you have lived long, and know everything—I know nothing."
Harriet was kneading dough. She paused in

her occupation, and seemed to reflect; then she

Is Mr. Stuart-Gordon at Mont Crystal?"

"Was he attentive to Miss Susan ?"

What do they say about him there?"

"That he has long been engaged to Miss Armstrong, and that this Christmas party is in honor of their renewed betrothal."

I feared so! Miss Somerville needed a mother to watch over her. After all, a nurse-one in my position—cannot meet every want in a young lady's daily life. But now, listen, Anna. We must keep our young lady quiet, comfortable, and occupied. Subdue everything to soothe her excited nerves. Let no sunlight into her room Do not let the fire blaze too brightly-keep all loud noises far from her-Temper even your own services for her, so that they do not become ob-trusive. And now go and set the table, and make all things comfortable, my child."

The woman who gave this advice was no com mon, coarse-minded menial. The reader need not be surprised at this. Delicacy in perception of character and emotion, and in adaptation and vated affections rather than of educated intel- the Cass phase. ect. And Harriet possessed the first in a large

degree.

The Christmas party lasted a fortnight at Mont Crystal. At the end of that time, Louis Stuart-Gordon and Louise Hector Armstrong Upon the strength of the new relations, Mrs. Armstrong was induced to accept the earnest invitation extended by General Stu art-Gordon to herself, Miss Armstrong, and Miss O'Riley, to pass a few days at The Isle of Rays. It was while the family of Mont Crystal were staying at the Island palace, that the marriage youthful couple was fixed for the twenty-second of the next month. February, the anniversary of their birth, when Louis should complete his eighteenth, and Louise her six

TO BE CONTINUED

FROM WISCONSIN. Madison, Wisconsin, January 9, 1850.

teenth year.

To the Ediror of the National Era : DEAR SIR : The Wisconsin Legislature conv

ned to-day at the Capitol, and fully organized. By the request of Democratic Sena ors, Mr. Gale of Walworth, and Mr. Willard of Racine the two Free Democratic Senators, united with the Democrats in Sensterial caucus last evening. when Gen William R Smith was re-nominated Chief Clerk, and Mr. James Hawrahan, Ser geant-at-Arms.

The Senate, to-day, elected Mr. Smith and Mr. Hawrahan by a unanimous vote-Whigs voting with the Democrats. The Democratic and Free Democratic m

bers of the Assembly, under a call for all those in favor of the resolutions of the Democratic State Convention, (which are strictly Free Soil.) met this morning, at ten o'clock A. M., in the Assembly Hall, and nominated Moses M. Strong, of Iowa county, for Speaker, and Mr. Gray, of Rock county, for Chief Clerk. At the meeting of the Assembly, both of these gentlemen were elected by the joint vote of the Democrats and

You will recollect that this same Mr. Strong made a speech at a Free Soil meeting at this place, one year ago, in which he stated that the time had at length arrived which he had for ten years been striving to stave off, when this quesion must be met; and he was then ready to No more Slave States-no more Slave Territo ry-no further extension of Slavery-the abolition of Slavery wherever Congress has the con Mr. Strong's speech, at the time, was powerful, and produced a happy effect After the organization and receipt of a com

munication from the Governor, that his message will be forthcoming to-morrow, the two House adjourned over.

The Senate and Assembly met pursuant to adjournment, and the Governor's message pre-sented and read, a copy of which I send you The portion in relation to slavery is on the last He recommends that our determination to resist the extension of slavery be again reitera-

The appointment of the Committees on Terri tories, the Judiciary, Foreign Relations, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, and District of Colum nia, in the United States Senate, by which a m jority are given South, according to time cursed usage, meets with the low curses of all. The action of the Free Democratic member

of the House are duly approved. Yours, &c.,

# MEMORIAL OF JAMES ROBERTSON.

The Hon. D. S. Dickinson presented to the al, which was referred to the Committee of

To the honorable the Senate of the United States : GENTLEMEN: The undersigned, a citizen of the fourth Congressional district in the State of New York, does hereby most respectfully pray your honorable body to investigate the following char-

ges against him : "THREATENING MR. CLAY .- A man was over heard in the Senate gallery on Thursday to ex-press his determination to take the life of the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, who was below in the chamber; whereupon he was promptly arrested by the officers and taken to the Capitol watch-room, and an investigation of the matter was had before Justice Goddard, captain of the auxiliary guard. The Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, Robert Beale, Esq., and one of the messengers of the Senate, testified to the hearing of repeated assertions of the arrested man 'to kill Mr. Clay: and he was thereupon committed to the county jail for safe keeping for the present. We learn that his name is James Robertson, of Baltimore, where he is well known as a harmless,

man of low stature, and is apparently about thirty-five years old."—Republic.

JA Ludley

set your seal of disapprobation on the arrest and imprisonment of the petitioner in the Washington county jail for fourteen days, five hours, and twenty-five minutes: for I solemnly declare before God that I was not in the gallery of the Senate on the day referred to, and I never in my life uttered a sentence that could lead any on to justly infer that I designed any physical injury to Mr. Clay, or any person or persons in or out of your honorable body. I therefore pray your honorable body to take the case up, and examine the parties concerned, and then make me such compensation as you may deem just and equitable under the circumstances of the case, which has not a parallel in any case on record, as far as my judgment will go in a matter of this

And for the peace, health, and happiness of your honorable body, I will ever pray to that God who has said, "I will in nowise acquit the guilty." JAMES ROBERTSON

# THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, JANUARY 31, 1850.

The labor of condensing the terribly verose speeches of Senators and Representatives is very heavy. The speech of General Cass fills nineteen solid columns in the Union and Intelligencer. The reader will find the substance of it compressed within two columns and a half on our fourth page. Mr. Clingman's long-drawn effort is abridged in the same way. A synopsis of Mr. Phelps's speech on the Vermont resolutions was prepared for this number, but unavoidably

The Water Cure Reporter, of Utica, New York, is an interesting journal. See advertise

T'r We call attention to the advertisement by Longley & Brother, of Cincinnati, of the Phonetic Advocate, a semi-monthly magazine, published by them in that city.

BENNETT'S DAGUERREAN GALLERY.-N. S. Bennett has opened a new Daguerrean Gallery on Pennsylvania avenue. We are much pleased with his workmanship. Members of Congress who wish to obtain pictures of themselves before they are wasted by the harassments of a long session, would do well to give him a call. See ad-

Messes, Chase and Butler. - Certain Sens

tors from the South are in the habit of attempting to browbeat new members from the free State supposed to entertain anti-slavery opinions. Mr Hale had to run the gauntlet, but how well he has survived it, our readers need not be told. Mr. Seward has been anyeared to sue same kits. offensive invective, and he will doubtless take care of himself at the right time. Mr. Chase having been thus assailed two or three times by Mr. Butler of South Carolina, whose impetuosity not unfrequently drives him to the disregard of proprieties which in his cooler moments he is assiduous in observing, felt called upon last Thursday to check the freedom of the Senator's com ments. We refer our readers to the report of the scene under the Congressional head. It is accurate, but does not convey the spirit of the encounter. The severe dignity of Mr. Chase's manner and his commanding boldness, made retort impos sible, and imposed upon his assailants the neces sity of being respectful to him, if from no other reason, from a respect to themselves. We think his position in the Senate is ascertained.

#### PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE ON TUESDAY

The proceedings in the Senate on Tuesday, on Mr. Clay's Compromise resolutions, were highly interesting. Attention will be given to them next week. There are two phases of Non-Intervention-that of General Cass, that of General culti- Taylor. Mr. Clay

## WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

When intelligence reached the States, last

summer, of the proclamation of General Riley, his disregard of the local legislature of San Francisco, his assertion of the claims of the Government de facto, his assumption of the functions of Civil Governor in virtue of a Mexican law or usage, his notification of the times and places of holding elections for delegates to the Convention called by him, we could not help denouncing what we regarded as a usurpation of power. We did not then know who was responsible-General Riley, or the Administration that appointed him. Since then, the present Administration has been condemned by some of its opponents, for its presumed sanction of his acts, and the call of Mr. Venable upon the President for information was designed to bring to light all that had been done in California by Presidential sanction, so as to furnish grounds, first, for an attack upon his Adninistration, and, secondly, for successful resistance to the admission of California as a State. Could it be proved that the People of that country had been constrained, so that the Constitution adopted was not one of choice, but necessity, the Slavery Extensionists calculated, doubtless, on being able to unite the South and enlist some Northern Democrats, in opposition to her application for admission.

After the first intelligence of the calling of convention in the Territory, we carefully examined the accounts by every arrival, anxious to ascertain whether there was a general and cordial concurrence in the measure. That there was such concurrence, our readers well know. The San Francisco Government, while protesting against the arbitrary assumption of power by General Riley, agreed to waive its objections, on ecount of its devotion to the great object aimed at by all parties. And, after this, no constraint was imposed upon the People; they elected whom they pleased; no attempt was made to influence the deliberations of the Convention-in a word. from the election of delegates to the promulgation of the Constitution by the Convention and its final adoption by the People, they were entirely unfettered in the expression of their will.

The Message of the President, disavowing interference with the independent action of the People of California, must be satisfactory to all, except to those who hoped to find some valid ground for contesting its claim to admission. The Message and accompanying documents show that the preceding Administration and the officers acting under it are chiefly responsible for the existing state of things in California.

The first assumption of civil authority by any military officer in the Territory was made by General Mason, August 7th, 1848, the day after the intelligence of peace reached him. The proclamation in which he assumed civil powers was communicated to the War Department on the 234 of November, 1848, and acknowledged. without comment, on the 27th of January, 1849. The Administration of Mr. Polk, after having the subject under consideration two months, thus Senate, on the 8th instant, the following memori- virtually sanctioned his acts, and assumed the responsibility of them.

In doing so, it pursued the policy disclosed in the letter of Mr. Buchanan, dated 7th of October. 1848. "The termination of the war," he writes, "left an existing Government-a Government de facto-in full operation; and this will continue, with the presumed consent of the People, until Congress shall provide for them a Territorial Government. The great law of necessity justifies this conclusion. The consent of the People is irresistibly inferred from the fact that no civilized community could possibly desire to abrogate an existing Government, when the alternative presented would be to place themselves in a state of anarchy, beyond the protection of all laws, and reduce them to the unhappy necessity of submitting to the dominion of the strongest."

Again "The President urgently advises the People of California to live peaceably and quietly under the existing Government. He believes that this

stablished by Congress would go into operation. In the mean time, the country would be the citizens would be withdrawn from their usual employments, and domestic strife might divide and exasperate the People against each other; and this all to establish a Government which, in no conceivable contingency, could endure for a single year."

October 9th, Mr. MARCY, Secretary of War, writing to Colonel R. B. Mason, commanding the United States forces in California, repeats and fully endorses the views of Mr. Buchanan, and

" In the mean time, it will be the duty of the commander of a military force to recognise the present Government de facto; to respect the officers of it, and to lend the aid of the military power to protect the rights of persons and property of the whabitants of the Territory. Though he has not the right to change or modify the cristing civil Government, it will be his duty to regard it as on existing Government, until it

is changed by competent authority." On the 13th of April, 1849, General Mason was relieved of his command by General Riley, who proceeded to carry out the policy of the Ad ministration. He recognised the existing Government, the Government de facta-in other words, precisely that form and machinery of Government that had been established by Mexico, and came into operation the moment peace was declared As by this Government the commander of the military forces in California was also civil Governor, he felt bound to assume this character, and also to sustain the existing Government against the attempts of portions of the People to supplant it by local Legislatures. In all this he could plead the explicit instructions of the Administration that had appointed him.

But he went one step further. January 20, 1849, the Commanding General of the Pacific Division, General Smith, wrote to the War De-

partment, as follows: "Under the hope that some act of the last Congress had provided, or at least defined, the Government of California, it was thought prudent to wait intelligence of the close of sion, and then, if nothing had been done in Washsion, and then, it housing had been done in Washington, to put in action the machinery of the laws already existing here, and at the same time propose to the people of California to form a State Constitution, and present it at the next session of Congress, when their admission into the Union as a State would at once solve so many difficulties; and while it removed a cause of disagreement at home, would give them an opportunity of

legislating for themselves.
"The steamer Edith has been sent to Mazatlan for the necessary intelligence; and, on her arrival with information that no other than a revenue lew had been passed, General Dilestanced a proclamation for the election of the necessary executive and judician ouncers under the existing laws, and recommending, at the same time, the election of delegates to a Convention to form a State Constitution. Mr. King arrived at the time these proclamations were about being issued, and it was matter of great congratulation that the Government, by anticipation, had approved of the latter measure. Every means will be used to give the people of California an opportunity of expressing their wishes on this point, and of bringing the matters to a happy conclusion."

It seems, then, from this correspondence, that the idea of proposing to the People of California the formation of a State Government originated with the military officers in that country, holding their appointments and acting under instructions from Mr. Polk; that the proclamation calling a Convention, and regulating matters concerning the election, was the work of General Riley, who had anticipated the wishes of the Taylor Administration, and that the special agent of this Ad-General of the approbation of the Chief Executive. By what authority did General Riley issue tive. By what authority did General Riley issue trict of Columbia, we, at an early day, addressed his proclamation? This will be known when we shall know more of the powers of a Civil Gover-

to sustain it-it authorized him to act as Civil Governor, and he did so - and we must presume that in calling a Convention of the People and proposing to them to form a State Constitution, he did nothing more than he was authorized to do as Civil Governor.

For all the transactions, therefore, leading to the organization of a State Government in California, the last Administration is responsible. General Taylor merely followed in its footstens and added his sanction to what had been done and projected by its agents. For example, Mr. Clayton, in his letter of instructions to Mr. King, April 3d, 1849, thus recognises the existing laws of California and New Mexico:

"The laws of California and New Mexico as they existed at the conclusion of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, regulating the relations of the inhabitants with each other, will necessarily remain in force in those Territories. Their relations with their former Government have been dissolved, and new relations created between them and the Government of the United States; but the existing laws, regulating the relations of the people with each other, will continue, until others lawfully enacted shall supersede them. Our naval and military commanders on those stations will be fully instructed to cooperate with the friends of order and good government, so far as their cooperation can be useful and proper."

Precisely the same ground as that taken by Messrs. Buchanan and Marcy. One part of the instructions is rather obscure. Says Mr. Clayton, You are fully possessed of the President's views and can with propriety suggest to the People of California the adoption of measures best calculated to give them effect. These measures must, of course, originate solely with themselves. Assure them of the sincere desire of the Executive of the United States to protect and defend them in the formation of any Government, republican in its character, hereafter to be submitted to Congress, which shall be the result of their own de liberate choice; but let it be at the same time distinctly understood by them that the plan of such a Government must originate with them selves, and without the interference of the Exec

As "the President's views" were communicated to Mr. King, verbally, we shall probably never know what they were, to their full extent. Undoubtedly, some of them are communicated to Congress, in the following paragraph, by the President himself

"I did not hesitate to express to the people of those Territories my desire that each Territory should, if prepared to comply with the requisitions of the Constitution of the United States form a plan of a State Constitution, and submit the same to Congress, with a prayer for admission into the Union as a State; but I did not anticipate, suggest, or authorize the establishment of any such Government without the assent of Congress, nor did I authorize any Government agent or officer to interfere with or exercise any influence or control over the election of delegates, or over any Convention, in making or modifying their domestic in stitutions, or any of the provisions of their proposed Constitution?

We learn from this, that the President commi nicated to the People of New Mexico and California his desire for the organization of a State Government in each of them, and he disavows having authorized any Government officer or agent to use any influence to induce any Convention of the People to modify in any way their domestic institutions. We accept this as a total disclaimer of having attempted to influence the People of California or New Mexico, to silence in regard to Slavery, or to action for or against it. It means this, or it means nothing. We were under the impression that governmental influence had been exerted, to induce the People to form a Constitution, omitting any reference to Slavery; but, if the foregoing disclaimer be honestly intended, if it mean what the legitimate construction of its language makes it mean, our impression was

groundless. It is somewhat remarkable that New Mexico, notwithstanding the desire of the President that her inhabitants should form a State Constitution, decided on the establishment of a Territorial Government, which, so far from settling the question of Slavery, left it open for the action of Congress. What influences were put in requisiinoffensive person, and that he is evidently laboring under a partial insanity. Robertson is a lit be not what they could desire, and had a right that they are averse to Slavery. Why did they tion to conduct them to this decision? It is said

to expect, they can console themselves with the reflection that it will endure but for a few months. Should they attempt a change, or amend it during this brief beriod, they most probably could not accomplish their object before the Government accomplish their object before the Government and a hill would have received the favor of the President, and a hill would have received admitting them into and a bill would have passed, admitting them into the Union. To form merely a Territorial Government, and virtually to lay open their Territory to Slavery, was to expose themselves to the chances of no Government at all. Why, in view of such considerations, they should stop short of a State organization, is to us a mystery;

## THINGS IN OHIO.

Public opinion in the State of Ohio has long been settled in favor of the Ordinance of 1787. Two years ago, the chief managers of the Democratic Party having committed themselves to General Cass, whose opinions on the Proviso even, at that time, were questionable, found themselves placed in a very awkward predicament. Public Sentiment on the Slavery Question was to be satisfied, and at the same time such a position taken as should not involve the condemnation of General Cass. Accordingly, in the State Convention of January 8, 1847, resolutions were adopted pledging the Party to use all constitutional means o prevent the extension and finally to procure the extinction of Slavery, while no expression of opinion was given concerning the nature or extent those constitutional means. The declaration, was thought, would be sufficient to satisfy the demands of Public Sentiment and retain the Anti-Slavery portion of the Party in its ranks, and vet, should General Cass choose to deny the constitutionality of the Proviso, convey no censure of his opinions. The General assailed its constitutionality, was

nominated for the Presidency, and the Democratic leaders in Ohio labored to rally the Party to his carried the State by a plurality, there was a majority against him of nineteen thousand; and Democratic presses and leaders generally repudi- and vote directly or indirectly against the Proviso. ated the peculiar creed of the candidate they were supporting.

So well convinced were large sections of the Party that the Principles announced by the Buffalo Convention were the only platform on which ascendency, that they began to affiliate with the Free Democracy, sometimes openly uniting, sometimes adopting its candidates. Meantime, Hunkerism was zealous for the old platform, furious against all new forms of political association, and found, we doubt not, powerful support in Ex-Senator Allen. kerism was zealous for the old platform, furious Ex-Senator Allen.

Preparations were everywhere made for conrolling the action of the Convention which was to assemble on the 8th of January of this year, at Columbus. The Hunkers mustered in their strength, and Mr. Allen was on the spot to superintend proceedings. What these were is fully of Deseret have already framed their constitution and fairly set forth in the following address from the Delegates of Summit and Medina counties to their coustituents:

From the Free Democratic Standard Action and position of the Radical or Free Democratic Delegates in the late 8th of January Convention at

Columbus TO OUR CONSTITUENTS The undersigned, having been appointed Delegates to the Democratic State Convention, held on the 8th inst., and having attended said Convention and dicharged our duties according to the best of our abilities, feel called upon, in view of the result, to render an account of our doing. Well knowing it was your wish that the Democratic party of the State should rally on the side of freedon ministration arrived just in time to assure the plant itself in deadly hostility to the extension of slavery, and to its continuance of the disgraceful, unchristian, and wicked slave trade in the Dis-

tions: shall know more of the powers of a Court of the Mexican Governnor in California, under the Mexican Government. That Government was recognised as the

"1. Are you in layor of producting their extension of slavery in our country?

"2. Does Congress possess the power to p "1. Are you in favor of prohibiting the furossess the power to prohibit slavery in the Territories

3. Is it expedient for Congress to exercise that power?

"4 Should Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, or else remove the seat of Government to a free State? "5. Are you in favor of admitting any more

slave States into the Confederacy?' To these questions four of our candidates re-sponded to our satisfaction; but we are sorry to say that Judge Wood, the nominee of the Convention, is not one of the four; he made no answer We are further sorry, that a knowledge of the fact, that the other had answered in a manner favorable to freedom, contributed materially to

lessen their votes for a nomination. Feeling still anxious to preserve harmony in the Democracy of the State, with which we and our constituents had long acted, we concluded to make an earnest effort for the adoption, by the Convention, of such resolutions as would meet your wishes and the demands of freedom at this time. In this we utterly failed. The committee upon resolutions refused to report any upon the subject of slavery except those adopted by the State Convention two years ago; thus showing that they had made no progress on this subject during the last

"Resolved, That the people of Ohio now, as they have always done, look upon the institution of slavery in any part of the Union as an evil, and unfavorable to the full development of the spirit and practical benefits of free institutions; and that, entertaining these sentiments, they will at all times feel it to be their duty to use all power, clearly given by the terms of the national compact, to prevent its increase, to mitigate, and finally to

Resalved, That the Democracy of Ohio do. at the same time, fully recognise the doctrine held the early fathers of the Republic, and still maintained by the Democratic party in all the States, that to each State belongs the right to adopt and modify its own municipal laws; to reg ulate its own municipal affairs; to hold and maintain an equal, an independent sovereignty with each and every other State; and that upon these rights the national Legislature can neither legislate nor encreach. It will be seen that these resolutions do not ac

knowledge any power in Congress to abolish slavery or the slave trade in the District of Columbia nor upon the high seas, nor even any to apply the Ordinance of 1787 to the territories acquired from Mexico. On the contrary, any one can adopt them and oppose all action by Congress for these purposes. In order that the first resolution might be made specific, and mean something, we tried to get the committee to strike out the word "all" and insert the word "the," so that the resolution would declare that we deemed it our duty to use the power clearly given by the terms of the natioal compact to prevent the increase, &c., of

slavery, but even this amendment was denied us.

When the resolutions were adopted by the
Convention, we asked them to adopt the folsolved, That the Ordinance of 1787, drafted originally by the hand which framed the Declaration of Independence, derives its chief

excellence from the Democratic principle developed therein-that of uncompromising hatred to all tyranny over the mind or body of man.

2. Resolved, That the principles of said ordinance, conservative of freedom, may be extended by Congress to all the Territories of the United States, without any violation of constitutional

party in Ohio, That it is both lawful and expedient that said principles be practically applied to all of said territory, with the least possible delay.
4. Resolved, That we hold to radical Democracy, to Liberty, to Equality and Fraternity, and to the most universal individual freedom, only re-

strained by just and equal laws.

5. Resolved, That the principles of Democracy are always the same, yet we intend to progress in their application to all measures of public policy until liberty and equality universally prevail. The two last above resolutions were withdrawn by the mover, on a suggestion that the balance wild be passed by the Convention.

We felt we could ask no less, in the present

condition of the country, than that the Democracy of Ohio, in State Convention assembled, should express their determination that the Jeffersonian Ordinance, under which we have grown and prospered, and which has saved us from the curse of Slavery, should shed forever its benign influence upon our newly acquired possessions-but this When this was done, as a last resort, one of

the Delegates from Summit, believing the friends of our late distinguished Senator would approve his conduct in voting for the Wilmot Provise pecially when given under instructions from a Democratic Legislature, offered the following res-

Resolved, That the services of William Allen, in the Councils of the Nation, entitle him to the confidence of the American Democracy; and

"Resolved, That the Democracy of Ohio deplore
his absence from the Senate of the United States."

In a State Constitution—a constitution toleration toleration to the Order of the Lieutenant General of the Eming slavery—and next year will see her a member to the order of the Lieutenant General of the Eming slavery—and the Union. And then will come Jacinto; pire. Although this truce was a dishonorable aban-

Even this approval was refused, and the whole esolution stricken out, by a vote of 147 to 120. resolution stricken out, by a vote of 147 to 120.

In your behalf, we remonstrated against these proceedings, so contrary to the spirit of the age and the genius of our free institutions—and now refer the whole matter, with the action of your Delegates, to you, for your consideration.

R. P. Spalding, L. B. Bierce, L. L. Howard, H. N. Gillett, Delegates from Summit P. Thompson, R. Warner, C. B. Prentiss. E. L. Warner,

Delegates from Medina

As Judge Wood declined to answer any ques tions before his nomination, as his nomination was probably secured in consequence of this silence, as the Convention that selected him as the candidate refused to recognise the Wilmot Proviso, or to affirm that their resolutions embodied the principle of that measure, it cannot be expected that he will now take a position different from that of the body which put him in nomination. The Free Democrats, therefore, have a plain path before them. Their distinctive principles have been repudiated by the Convention of the 8th of January; and the candidate of that body, whatever his private opinions, is bound by the views of those who nominated him. To support him, under such circumstances, will be to support the policy of that Convention. To vote for him will be to disregard the policy of the Or-

State of Ohio to Hunkerism We do not believe the Free Democrats will so far forget what is due to their cause, their country, themselves, as to do any such thing.

dinance of 1787, for the purpose of subjecting the

We shall soon see what construction the Demo cratic members from Ohio, in Congress, will put support. We know the result. Although he upon the action of the 8th of January. Some, we know, are true as steel on this question; others are uncertain. If these wish to seal the fate of their this would have been still greater, had not the Party in Ohio, let them join with JOHN K MILLER,

#### A CHANGE OF POSITION.

So far as we can see, the Whig party ha changed its position since the message of General the Democracy could reunite and rise to complete Taylor in favor of non-intervention. What we mean by this may be learned by the following editorial from the Albany Evening Journal :

"This important document will awaken the rial Governments for North Mode 22 Control of the Union. Increasing given for this single point of difference will have great weight with the people. The President has official information that New Mexico will, at no distant period, ask for admis sion into the Union; and we know that the people But, in making these suggestions, the President expresses no doubt of the right of Congress not merely to give New Mexico and Deseret Territorial organizations, but to preclude slavery from those Territories, if it so please. The admission of this principle—the very 'corner stone' of this great subject—will disappoint those who have been predicting that this message would contain an avowal of his determination to veto any bill recognising the Proviso. Even the Evening Post has the frankness to say that General Taylor asserts the unlimited legislative authority of the Federal Government over the Territories. Having assumed this position, and thus given a guar antee of his readiness to cooperate with Congress in any course which it may adopt, we shall probably hear no more of his determination to prevent. by the exercise of the veto, the restriction of sla

very within its present limits. "The President, it will be seen, is, as no one who knew him doubted he would be, equally emphatic in regard to the admission of California, with the constitution her people have already provided. In assuming this position, he places himself in direct conflict with the disunionists. But the arguments he adduces in support of his position are irrefutable and conclusive, and will receive the heart proval of every true man in the Union."

The Journal, it must be remarked, has always professed to occupy a high anti-slavery position in the Whig party. Other leading Whig papers of the North go beyond the Journal in praise of the message, finding nothing in it at variance with the Free Soil Sentiment of the country. Let us see

General Taylor says that " under the Consti tution Congress has power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the Territories of the United States." So says General Cass but these "needful rules and regulations," he holds, do not include any rule or regulation respecting slavery. On this point, then, the President-is no more identified with the Free Soil Sentiment than with its opposite.

The Journal says that the President "expresse no doubt of the right of Congress to preclude slavery from the Territories." This is Jesuitical The President expresses no opinion whatsoever on this point, and the Journal understands this very

The same paper says that the President " ha official information that New Mexico will, at no distant period, ask for admission into the Union, and it thinks this will have great weight in recon ciling the people of the North to the recommendation of the President to waive all action in regard to New Mexico. The fact is just the reverse; for the language of the President is, The reasons for my opinion that New Mexico will, at no very distant period, ask for admission into the Union, are founded on unofficial information which. I suppose, is common to all who have cared to make inquiries on that subject."

The Journal speaks of the President as having given a guarantee of his readiness to cooperate with Congress in any course which it may adopt. He has given no such guarantee; he has not committed himself at all in regard to a Territorial bill, should it contain the Wilmot Proviso.

The President, says the Journal, is "equally emphatic in regard to the admission of California, with the constitution her people have already prepared."

Yes, and he is equally emphatic in regard to the admission of any other Territory claiming admission as a State, no matter if its constitution tolerates slavery.

This is the position of the President: Let the people of a Territory decide for themselves whether slavery shall be tolerated or excludedlet them apply for admission as a State-and it will become the duty of Congress to admit, even though they constitute a slaveholding State. The Journal and the rest of the Whig papers, glad of an opportunity to get rid of present peril by an expedient, assent without qualification to this position, and thus commit themselves to the support of the admission of Deseret as a State, with a constitution tolerating slavery, and preclude themselves from consistent opposition hereafter to the application of New Mexico and Jacinto. should they apply for admission with constitu tions tolerating slavery. And this they call coming fully up to the Free Soil Sentiment of the country !

Having assumed this position, how long will it be before they will be called upon to acquiesce in the annexation of divers other slave States, including Cuba? The truth is, they have abandoned the Free Soil ground. They are about aiding in the reversal of the time-honored policy of the Government-the policy of slavery restriction by action of Congress. They have consented to set aside the Ordinance of 1787 as a precedent and establish the precedent of non-intervention. by which the General Government shall be bound to ratify the decision of the people of any Territory on the slavery question, no matter how directly it may conflict with the views and interests of the great majority of the States.

There are slaves in Descret. Her constitution does not prohibit slavery. Her application for admission is to come before Congress. The Whig members of Congress, if they follow the lead of the Whig press, will vote for her admission New Mexico, in view of this, will proceed to form a State Constitution-a constitution tolerat-

of the age, not tolerating a system which almost all Christendom has condemned as barbarous.

### EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENCE.

Berlin, December 31, 1849. To the Editor of the National Era :

The present tendency of European politics can-not be properly taught in occasional letters on current events. Bon mots on Turkey, indignant paragraphs on the conduct of the Austrians in Italy and Hungary, hoping ones on France, and complicated ones on the twisted affairs of Germany, may all be well enough in their places; but it is well to look back from time to time, to connect events of to day with those of last year, and the movements in Austria with those in France. We propose, then, presenting a connected view of European politics in the year which has just closed, that the readers of the Era may have a stand-point, from which to look on the great political events which are doubtless reserved for the next few years.

The revolution which swept like a hurricane over Europe in the early part of 1848, was powerful for destruction, but not for creation. Rot ten old political fabrics fell into roins, but nothing was erected in their stead. The leaders of the popular movement had been all their lives studying the best means to tear down, and were capable of nothing else. When the people rose up, they threw themselves at its head, not exactly knowing whither to lead, but determined to keep in advance. They performed their appointed work of destruction, and no more. As soon as their ignorance had led to the Paris massacre of June, they were thrown aside. The counterevolution took the lead.

The counter-revolution attempted to produce a eaction in the popular mind, and met with a temporary success. But the result of its efforts has been to deepen and strengthen the principles of the revolution in the hearts of the people. If the revolutionists had remained in power, there is no doubt but that their excesses, ignorance, and the army swear allegiance to the Empire, and folly, would have led to a reaction which might

Europe at the beginning of the year 1849? The cause of the revolution had been compro mised by the June Insurrection. The massacres and horrors of those bloody days at Paris had shocked and paralyzed the courage of the people, and separated from their cause all who had property to defend. Fright united the bourgeoisie in a strong league against the socialists. They had

favored a political revolution, but were prepared

to resist to the death a social one. France placed at her head the dictator Cavaignac, a sincere republican, but bred in camps, and mable to comprehend any mode of restoring tranquillity than the state of siege and the institution of courts martial, with the restriction of the liberty of the press, and of the right of public oral discussion. Nor was he politician enough to detect and defeat the intrigues against him and the Republic.

The alliance between the Orleansists and Legitimists was effected by Thiers and others. They set aside, and Louis Napoleon elected by an over-whelming majority. All parties voted for him, for each wine the response time of its own.

The flight of the Emperor Ferdinand to Innsfor each saw in him the representative of its own views, and a passive instrument of its purposes. He had promised each party what it wished.

several decisive occasions, he had already shown | the rest of Austria. his incapacity and want of presence of mind. The first step of the new minister was to cemen an alliance with Thiers, the representative of the selfish and heartless conservative policy of the to a nullity, and the policy of corruption and intrigue which had governed France under Louis

Philippe had been restored to its full vigor. In Italy, the counter-revolution had three points of support : the Austrian influence, the Catholic hierarchy, and the Neapolitan absolutism.

In the beginning of 1849, the different States of Italy presented very different appearances. In some, the revolution was yet in full power; while in others, the counter-revolution had obtained the victory. Sicily enjoyed a perfect independence on Naples. She had offered her crown to the younger son of Charles Albert, King of Piedmont, but

citizens. Her continued independence seemed to be gnarantied by the friendship of England, and the troubled state of affairs in Naples. Ferdinand had repressed, by force of arms, the insurrection of the 15th of May, and had been since occupied in cancelling, one after another the concessions he had made, seizing and impris-

oning his enemies and repressing the local insurrections which broke out at short intervals, in every part of his kingdom. Rome was at the head of the movement in Italy and the only representative of its three great

ideas, the expulsion of the Austrians, the separation of the church hierarchy from the administration of the Government, and the national unity The Pope, by his vacitlation and apparent dupli city, had lost rapidly the favor of the people which he had once enjoyed to so great an extent After the insurrection of the 15th and 16th of November, in which Rossi, his Prime Minister. fell, he invited Galletti and Mamiani to form a Cabinet; but on the 24th, he fled in the disguise of a footman to Gaeta, and placed himself under depose him, but appointed a Commission to govern until his return, and appropriated a large monthly salary to supply his wants. They took power. immediate measures for calling a Constituent Assembly by the universal suffrage, and for raising an army to oppose Austria.

In Upper Italy, Radetsky had re-conquere Lombardy, and forced Charles Albert to demand a truce. Venice had proclaimed the Republic, and elected Marrin to the Presidency. The people of Lombardy, Piedmont, and, in fact, all Italy were anxious to re-commence the combat with Austria. No good result for Italy was to be hoped for from the negotiations at the Brussels Congress, agreed to on the invitation of England and France. A renewal of the war was inevitable. The Duke of Tuscany went with his people, but the Dukes of Parma and Modena had fled.

Germany had two objects to strive for which were the same with those of the Italians-political rights and national unity. But, instead of a religious hierarchy, devoted to the interests of a church, she had an aristocracy bent solely on the preservation of its personal privileges, and determined to annihilate the revolution, cost what it might. This selfish aristocracy was aided or used by the individual Governments, each of which controlled an armed force.

The first bold step taken by the counter-revo lution in Germany was the refusal by the different Governments to permit their troops to take the oath of allegiance to the Lieutenant General of the Empire, who represented the revolution.

A second and more decisive step was the truce Malmoe, concluded by Prussia, on the 26th of August, 1848, with the Danes, in direct opposition

unless, indeed, it should get the start of all the donment of the Duchies of Schleswig Holstein, and a forfeiture of the promise of the Frankfort Na-If ever the friends of Free Soil were called tional Assembly, this body did not dare to censure upon to act with vigor, they are called upon now. Prussia and annul the truce. The Frankfort As-Let them bring the House to a vote on the Wil- sembly, by approving the truce, sealed its depen mot Proviso. Two or three decisive votes, dence on the Governments of Germany, and separademonstrating that the majority are in favor of ted itself from the people. From that day, the dethat measure, that they will never abandon it, cline of its moral power may be dated. The fatal will show Descret and New Mexico that, if they vote was given on the 16th of September. After it. expect to take rank as States of this Union, they | the Assembly became the football of the Princes must come with constitutions up to the demands and a by-word among the people. Soon after, the commissaries of the Assembly were sent back with contumely from Austria; its advice was contemptnously treated by the Brandenburg Prussian Ministry; and one of its principal members, Robert Blum, was shot at Vienna, November 9th. The sympathics of the people now clung to

> easy of execution by the jeslousy of the Frank-fort Assembly for its sisters. In its ignorance of the true state of things, it supposed that it would regain its former influence if the public attention were not diverted from it by the existence Chambers in the separate States. It pursued its work of framing a Constitution while the can-nons of Windischgratz were battering down Vienna, and the state of siege was declared at Ber-lin. The Constitution, with all its rhetorical flourishes, was completed, and proclaimed on the 28th of December, as the fundamental law of all C rmany. About this time, Austria, who had become master of North Italy, had reconquered Vienna, and was at leisure to devote its military force to Hungary, declared her resolu-tion not to be prescribed to by the Frankfor Assembly, and that she would consult with the other Governments of Germany on the subject of a Constitution. This declaration found the Assembly without power to resist. It had long be-fore abandoned the People, to attach itself to the

the constituent Assemblies of Prussia and Austria, which the counter-revolution was preparing all its strength to attack. This was made more

did nothing. Schmerling resigned his office, and Henri de Gagern became prime minister in his Gagern's first proposition was that the Assem-bly should declare that Austria had excluded herself from the Union, which should be formed without her. This was virtually declaring the powerlessness of the Assembly. If the plan had been carried out, eleven millions of Germans would have been excluded from the Empire, and the foundations laid for a permanent schism Austria did not fail to protest against the proposition of M. Gagern. She wished the Ass to disperse, and intrust all to the Governments.

Thus had all the hopes of German unity and freedom been shattered before the beginning of

Governments. An Austrian Prince was at the

head of the Empire, an Austrian minister (Schmer ling) at the head of the Cabinet. The Assembly

1849, by the incapacity and timidity of the Frank fort Assembly.
In Prussin, the Government had refused to le the protection of the rights of property-owners. Government and aristocracy were firmly allied. Covernment and aristocr bly for the abolition of royalty "by the grace of God," and the substitution of that "by the grace

of the people," and for the abolition of all the privileges of the nobility. The formation of the Brandenburg ministry, the dissolution of the As-sembly, the abolition of the Burgher Guard, and the proclamation of the state of siege, followed immediately. On the 5th of December, the King published his plan of a Constitution. While the bourgeoisie submitted to the violence of the Government, in the hope that with tranquillity would come commerce, a rise in stocks and in rents, the people retained its sense of right and its principles. It had lost all confidence in a

Government which had so often deceived it and felt that on itself depended the building up of its liberties.

In Austria, both the revolution and the counterrevolution had a different foundation, a different

object, and different means.

In the rest of Germany, the object of the revolution was to melt different States into one; in Austria, it was to procure political independence for different nationalities in one State. In the rest of Germany, the counter-revolution reposed on the interests of the different dynasties, as oppomists was effected by Thiers and others. They met on the neutral ground of Bonapartism. At of the Government, and the differences and jeal-

bruck was the first attempt of the counter-revo-lution. This appeal to the provinces was not suc cessful, for the fire of the revolution burnt bright The new President appointed, as Prime Minister, M. Odilon Barrot. He had filled the same post in the last Cabinet of Louis Philippe. On

In the mean time, no opposition was made to the Democracy in Vienna, and the most liberal con-cessions of legislative and administrative independence, as well as of the incorporation of Croselfish and heartless conservative policy of the country. At the end of the year 1848, the French Constitution had been reduced effectively to a nullity, and the policy of corruption and

> The Austrian Government was not vet decided whether to repose on the Maygar-Germanic or on the Selavonic nationality. This hesitation continued until the 22d of July, when the large number of Schwes at the Imperial Diet, and their readiness to serve the purposes of the Govern nent, induced it to embrace their party. Jella chich was permitted to make his preparations of war, and on the 20th of September, the ministry published a proclamation against Hungary, reve king all previous concessions.

The danger for the Germans and Magyars caused them to enter at once into a tacit alliance against the Government. The assassination of the Austrian Commissioner, Count Lamberg, the appointment of Jellachich as Dictator of Hungs was provisorily governed by a council of her own ry, the dissolution of the Hungarian Diet, and the declaration of the nullity of all their proceed-ings, lighted up the flames of war, not only in Hungary but in Vienna. The insurrection of Vienna commenced on the 6th of October, and the veteran armies of Jellachich and Windisch gratz moved against that devoted city. Vienna nade a heroic defence, but Hungarian aid appear ed too late, and when the Austrian capital wa bleeding under the sword of the Szeques and Croates. The counter-revolution multiplied its terrors in Vienna and in Italy, and, feeling now secure, insulted the Imperial Commissioners and put to death the patriot, Robert Blum.

As the weak and irresolute Emperor Ferdinand onsidered himself bound by his promises, the Court party persuaded him to abdicate in favor of his nephew, Francis Joseph, the son of the intriguing Archduchess Sophia. This young Emperor mounted the throne on the 2d of December and formed the ministry of Schwartzenburg and Stadion for the prosecution of the counter-revo

Hungary had recognised neither the last or dinances of the Emperor Ferdinand nor the accession of Franc's Joseph. In the last month of the year 1848, the war against this noble nation had been commenced. The armies of Jellachich and Windischgratz had already, before the bethe protection of Naples. The Romans did not ginning of the year 1849, occupied a considerable part of the country. It seemed probable that the Magyars would be shortly subdued, and the Austrian Government sgain in the enjoyment of its

> The above is a sketch of the position of affairs Europe at the beginning of the year 1849 The counter-revolution had everywhere begun, and had made such advances that already it seemed certain of the victory; the power of the revo lution was everywhere broken—here, by a des perate combat, and there, as it appeared, withou any opposition. But the victory on the one side and the defeat on the other, were only apparent for the principles of the revolution of 1848 had sunk deep in the hearts of the people, and the counter-revolution found no basis on which to recrect former political fabrics, or even new ones. Some States of Europe had almost entirely escaped the general commotion. England had seemed to have no sympathy with the popular conquests of the year 1848; she looked with distrust on the strivings in Germany after unity and fre dom, favored Denmark in the Schleswig war, and

gave a deceptive support to the Sicilians, probably in furtherance of her own material interests Russia suppressed its antipathies against the revolution, and seemed disinclined to exert its revolution, and seemed disinclined to exert its strength in any foreign war. At last, when the insurrections in the principalities of the Danube brought the revolution to her very borders, she interfered with Turkey for its suppression, declaring, however, solemnly, its intention to preserve, in every other contest, the strictest neutrality. No attempt at insurrection had been made in Russian Poland.

in Russian Poland.

Spain and Portugal had remained almost undisturbed by the revolution. Belgium and Holland had revised their Constitutions in a liberal sense, and Denmark became a constitutional monarchy. In Sweden, important reforms had been introduced.

In our next we shall resume the history of the European revolution at this point, and attempt to continue it to the end of the year 1849, thus giving a connected view of the whole policy of the European Governments.

W. B.